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Campaign Document, No. 11.

MISCEGENATION

INDORSED BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Henry Clay, in September, 1848, when he asked his biographer, Rev. Walter Colton, to write a pamphlet exposing the objects of abolition fanaticism, charged him to show that

> The ultras go for abolition and amalgamation, and their object is to unite in marriage the laboring white man and the black woman, and to reduce the white laboring man to the despised and degraded condition of the black man.

We propose to show that this object has been declared by the Abolition party now in power, and shall prove it, not by mere argument, but by the record of that party in speeches and documents, and through its newspapers. In the course of our extracts, we shall have occasion to give the testimony of Abraham Lincoln, Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Henry Ward Beecher, Gen. N. P. Banks, Montgomery Blair (Lincoln's Postmaster General), John W. Forney, Hon. Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, Horace Greeley, of the *Tribune*, Harriet Beecher Stowe (author of Uncle Tom's Cabin), Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Tilton, Lucretia Mott, Parker Pillsbury, Sarah M. Grimke, Angelina G. Weld, the Massachusetts Legislature, William Lloyd Garrison, Albert Brisbane, Dr. J. McCune Smith, William Wells Brown, C. C. Burleigh, Seth B. Cole, Lieut. Col. Hoyt, of Kansas, the N. Y. Tribune, N. Y. Times, N. Y. Evening Post, N. Y. Independent, N. Y. Principia, Anti-Slavery Standard, Anglo-African, Bangor Whig, Oswego Times, Leavenworth Conservative, the New York Loyal League, the New York Central Lincoln Club, and other Republican authorities.

Lincoln and the Republican party proclaim, to-day, that the war shall not end until slavery is abolished. So far the country thoroughly understands them. But the question further arises: What is to be the condition of the negro when he has attained his freedom? We fear that the people do not fully realize the answer that Lincoln and the leaders of his party have already made to this question. The occasion of the discussion which elicited many of the expressions of opinion to be quoted, was the publication, in the early part of 1864, of a very curious pamphlet, entitled "Miscegenation." Some conservative Republicans have denied that the ideas which inspired this pamphlet have any wide-spread advocacy in the Republican party. We shall see.

The New York *Tribune*, several months before this pamphlet was published, contained an editorial article of a column, arguing in favor of the equality of the negro with the white, and asserting that diversity is the condition precedent of races on this continent, and their *assimilation* the problem. After the appearance of the pamphlet, it published an editorial concerning it wholly favorable, from which the following is an extract: —

From the *Tribune*, March 16th, 1864.

There is, no doubt, a great prejudice against the black race in the United States; but it is impossible to say *that this is not the result of a cruel and systematic degradation*, and it will continue to be impossible to say this with the least logical accuracy until all traces of the bondage in which the blacks have for nearly two centuries been held have disappeared. Such prejudice is by no means a novelty, nor has it been at all confined to blacks. All Christians in the middle age supposed that Jews exhaled a bad odor from their bodies, and *the marriage of a Jew and Christian at that period would have been far more likely to provoke a mob in any civilized city than the marriage of a white man and a black woman would be now.* There is the simple fact. It is impossible to get around it, or under it, or over it, with the whole copperhead power of wriggle. Now, *the white hatred of the black in this country is precisely of this character.* Delicate people say that it is natural. We answer that it is impossible to prove that it is natural. Of course it is easy to classify its different sources. A man of great refinement may dislike to associate with an ignorant negro as he would with any ignoraunt man of whatever tribe. A man proud of his purse may scorn a poor negro as he would a poor white man. A man systematically acquiescent in the wrongs and cruelties of society, may shun a negro as he would any unpopular white. A man who has himself been under-estimated may be jealous of any attempt to do justice to others. But we must insist that all this settles nothing except our human inhumanity, — except that in spite of our religious professions, *we do not dwell together as brethren — except that we do not, in spite of our Bibles, believe that God has made all men of one blood.*

It is hard to decide how long this prejudice may continue to influence society; and it will probably continue to be felt long after all traces of it have disappeared from the statute books of all the States. But this thing is certainly clear, that under the Constitution in its most liberal interpretation, and admitting our cherished American doctrine of equal natural rights, *if a white man pleases to marry a black woman, the mere fact that she is black gives no one a right to interfere to prevent or set aside such a marriage.*

If a man can so far conquer his repugnance to a black woman as to make her the mother of his children, we ask, in the name of the divine law and of decency, why he should not marry her?

Horace Greeley, in whose paper this appeared, is to-day the principal elector on the Republican ticket for Abraham Lincoln for the State of New York. For most Republicans, the authority of the *Tribune* is sufficient to decide any question, but we will not stop here.

Next, perhaps, in influence and circulation in the Republican party, is the professedly religious *Independent*, edited by Henry Ward Beecher. The leading editorial article of two columns in the issue of February 25, 1864, was upon the subject of miscegenation, and contained the following language: —

Leaving out of view our native born Americans of English descent, there are enough of other stocks on this soil to make three other nations, — namely, the Irish, the Germans, and the negroes. Even the negroes number one million more than the whole population of the United States at the adoption of the Constitution. But these three stocks have not come hither to establish themselves as distinct peoples: *but each to join itself to each* till all together shall be built up into the monumental nation of the earth!

Read this again, Irishmen and Germans! The article continues: —

We believe the whole human race are one family — born, every individual, with a common prerogative to do the best he can for his own welfare; that in political societies all men, of whatever various race or color, should stand on an absolute equality before the law; *that whites and blacks should intermarry if they wish*, and should not unless they wish; that the negro is not to be *allowed* to remain in this country, but is to remain without being allowed, — asking nobody's permission but his own; that we shall have no permanent settlement of the negro question *till our haughtier white blood, looking at the face of the negro, shall forget that he is black, and remember only that he is a citizen.*

The article concludes: —

Whether or not the universal complexion of the human family at the millennium "will not be white or black, but brown or colored," we certainly believe that the African-tinted members of our community will in the future gradually *bleach out their blackness.* The facts of to-day prove this beyond denial. Already three-fourths of the colored people of the United States have white blood in their veins. The two bloods have been gradually intermingling ever since there were whites and blacks among our population. *This intermingling will continue.* Under slavery it has been forced and frequent; under freedom it will be voluntary and unfrequent. But by and by counting the years not by Presidential campaigns but by centuries, *the negro of the South, growing paler with every generation, will, at last, completely hide his face under the snow.*

And the Washington correspondent of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* says that "this article in the *Independent* expresses the views of MOST OF THE INTELLIGENT REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS upon the subject. Nobody here advocates amalgamation, though doubtless there are very many who believe that, in time, *the two races will amalgamate.*"

The *Independent* of Feb. 4, 1864, contains an extended article on the hero of negroism — Toussaint L'Ouverture — lavish in commendation, warm in eulogium, full of the spirit that pervades the pamphlet, "Miscegenation." At the close occurs this significant

hint of what radicalism has in store for "white-skinned but black-hearted citizens": —

They must cease to call unclean those whom God has cleansed; they must acknowledge genius, whatever be the color of the skin that enwraps it; and *they must prepare themselves to welcome to the leadership of our armies and our Senate,* as Southern substitutes for Jeff. Davis and his drunken Comus-crew, that have so long bewitched and despoiled us, *black Toussaints, who, by their superior talents and principles, shall receive the grateful homage of an appreciative and admiring nation.*

The New York Evening *Post*, which advocates Lincoln's reëlection, and the publisher of which, Mr. Henderson, was removed from office for corruption and fraud, speaks of it as a wrong and pusillanimous policy to exclude the negro from our country, and says: —

We are a more heterogeneous and mixed people than any that ever before appeared upon the earth; more than our ancestors even of Great Britain, and to this mixture we owe much of our peculiar energy, and nearly all our peculiar liberality and genial kindness of heart. Nowhere in the world are there so few inveterate prejudices of race, nowhere so few pernicious distinctions of class, nowhere so many large, just, comprehensive and beneficent social arrangements, as in the United States, because nowhere else has there been such a collision, and final commingling of races. * * Can we doubt that if we are true to the grand opportunities of our position in reference to these poor debased Africans, as well as in respect to the hordes of uncouth foreigners poured upon our shores, we shall not only elevate them to a higher condition, but produce in ourselves a manliness and sincerity of character, that will lift the whole nation as far above other nations in moral dignity as it already is in physical power?

The Twentieth U. S. Colored Regiment, on their passage through New York city, were presented with a flag and an address by — to quote from the address — "the mothers, wives, and sisters of the members of the New York Union League Club," which closed as follows: —

When you look at this flag, and rush to battle or stand at guard beneath its sublime motto, "God and Liberty," *remember that it is also an emblem of love and honor from the daughters of this great metropolis* to their brave champions in the field, and that they will anxiously watch your career, glorying in your heroism, ministering to you when wounded and ill, and honoring your martyrdom with benedictions and with tears.

It required only the little word "obey," added to "love and honor," to make this almost a marriage contract. But the Loyal League never presented such an address to white soldiers. A Republican orator in Jacksonville, Ill., said, a few months ago, that when the war was over the "brave Othellos of the South would come North and claim their fair Desdemonas."

Charles Sumner, after all the brave deeds and noble sacrifices of our white soldiers, can only see the negro in this war. These are his words: —

Wherever I turn in this war I find the African. If you ask for strategy, *I know nothing better* than that of the slave Robert Small, who brought the rebel steamer Planter, with its armament, out of Charleston, and surrendered it to our Commodore as a prize of war. If you ask for successful courage, *I know nothing better* than that of the African Tillman, who rose upon a rebel prize crew, and overcoming them, carried the ship into New York.

Sumner, in one day, in the last Senate, offered a series of seven resolutions on the slavery and negro questions; presented memorials praying that the right of suffrage may be extended to persons of African descent; introduced a bill to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act, and another to enable negroes to testify in Federal courts. A negro was put in nomination for the office of chaplain at the organization of the last Massachusetts Legislature, and was barely defeated, and Mr. Sumner wrote to some of his friends, expressing his "mortification that the friends of human progress in the Legislature of the Old Bay State had not been more united, and elected a colored chaplain."

If this is "human progress," the world may well pray to remain stationary.

Henry Wilson, in the last Senate, said that "*the black soldier was equal to the white soldier in everything, and superior to him in endurance.*"

Miscegenation was a part of the original purpose of the Abolitionists.

Gen. Banks, when in the House of Representatives, said, "In regard to whether the white or black race was superior, he proposed to wait until time should develop whether the white race should absorb the black, or the black the white." General Banks is now creating rotten burroughs in Louisiana to elect Mr. Lincoln, and he recently issued an order compelling white and black children to mingle together at public schools.

Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, said, in a speech in Boston, in 1860, "Slavery will die out, because the day shall surely be when there will be one whole family of man upon a sanctified earth as there will be in heaven. *But I do not intend to wait for the providence of God to work it out.*"

Hon. Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, in his reply to Mr. Cox's speech on miscegenation, quoted a passage from a work on Central America, in which it was stated that "the great work of practical amalgamation had been going on quietly for generations; that color was considered a mere matter of taste, and that some of the most respectable inhabitants had black wives and mongrel children," and Mr. Kelley added that the incident *purified our minister of some prejudices*, and continued: "Our fellow-citizens of African descent, freed by the rebellion, will not be long in Americanizing this, to them, congenial region, *in which complexional differences do not affect the social or political position of a man*, if we have the sense and humanity to give them a fair chance for culture and enterprise.

Forney, commenting on this in the Philadelphia *Press*, says: "These are practical, and therefore valuable, truths. *They open the way for statesmen to new thoughts and to new preparations for the eternal adjustment of the tremendous issues growing out of the war.*"

Thus all the administration leaders and organs who have spoken of this subject at all, have favored the "sublime mingling of the races." The "new thoughts" and "eternal adjustment," spoken of by Forney, are, of course, miscegenation.

"If anybody wants to marry a negro honestly," says the Bangor *Whig* (Republican, of course); "*let him do it.*"

"The only possible basis of national peace and prosperity," says the Oswego *Times*, an administration organ, "is the recognition *of the equal manhood and citizenship of every race on American soil*, without regard to color, nationality, or previous social condition."

"The slave of yesterday," says the Leavenworth *Conservative*, "the soldier of to-day, must be, will be, the citizen of to-morrow."

The front rank of the Abolitionists, who have always brought the others of the party up to their standard, are over head and ears in miscegenation.

As early as 1863 Wendell Phillips said, —

Remember this, the youngest of you: that on the 4th day of July, 1863, you heard a man say, that in the light of all history, in virtue of every page he ever read, he was an amalgamationist to the utmost extent. I have no hope for the future, as this country has no past, and Europe has no past, but in that sublime mingling of races, which is God's own method of civilizing and elevating the world. God, by the events of his providence, is crushing out the hatred of race which has crippled this country until to-day.

Theodore Tilton followed more boldly, devoting a whole address to the defence of miscegenation, on one occasion, and saying, —

The history of the world's civilization is written in one word, — which many are afraid to speak, and many more afraid to hear, — and that is amalgamation.

Parker Pillsbury, on receiving advance sheets of the pamphlet, wrote, in rapture, to the author: —

CONCORD, N. H., January 10, 1864.

Author of Miscegenation — Care American News Company, 121 Nassau Street, New York: —

Though all unknown to me, I thank you a thousand times for one hasty reading of the sheets you have so kindly and so complimentarily sent.

My testimony can do you little good; indeed, publicly known, might do you more harm than good. But your work has cheered and gladdened a winter morning, which I certainly began in cloud and shadow.

You are on the right track — pursue it; and the good God speed you.

I have long been so confident of the correctness of your philosophy *that I would gladly see our law of divorce so modified as that new marriages among the American races might even now take place* where unfruitful or unhappy unions or (disunions) are recognized.

It may not be time to say this aloud; but it will yet be said, and I think not too soon.

All the mysteries of the wondrous apocalypse now unfolding in our country, are not even dreamed of yet; and I hail your work as a true prophecy.

Pardon my haste, for I am doubly loaded with work; but I am,

Most truly yours to aid,

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Pillsbury is so enthusiastic, that he desires divorces granted so that white men may discard their white wives, and marry negroes instead!

Angelina G. Wild and Sarah M. Grimke write to the author, —

We are wholly one with you in opinion as to the result and the desirableness of the result which is inevitably before our country.

Lucretia Mott writes to the author, —

It was an early and bold step in the Massachussits Anti-Slavery Society to petition for the repeal of the law making intermarriages of the races a crime and penal offence. By their persistency this repeal was effected.

Albert Brisbane writes to the author, —

My opinion is that the different races now existing on the earth are but the roots, the rude elements of a future and perfect race.

Dr. J. McCune Smith writes to the author, —

I am willing to put my signature to your doctrines.

William Wells Brown, another negro, and particularly liked by the Republican party, says, —

This rebellion will extinguish slavery in our land, and the negro is henceforth and forever to be a part of the nation. His blood is to mingle with that of his former oppressor, and the two races blended in one will make a more peaceful, hardy, powerful, and intellectual race than America has ever seen before.

The call for the Anti-Slavery Convention, last year, — of which Garrison, who now supports Lincoln earnestly, and the motto of whose life has been, "The Constitution is a league with death and covenant with hell," — ends as follows : —

Let the approaching anniversary, therefore, be well attended by the tried men and women, whose purpose it is still to continue the great moral struggle until before the Constitution and laws all are made free, and *complexional distinctions are unknown*.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President*.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, } *Secretaries*.
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, }

The *Anti-Slavery Standard* published a long and complimentary notice of "Miscegenation," saying, —

The future must decide how far black and white are disposed to seek each other in marriage. The probability is that there will be a progressive interminglings, and that the nation will be benefited by it. We are sure that many will agree with us in finding the pamphlet interesting and instructive, and in thanking the unknown author for it.

The New York *Principia* (Rep.) says of the argument in the pamphlet, —

It needed not one tithe of it to prove that God has made of one blood all nations of men, endowed them with equal rights, and that they are entitled to all the civil and political prerogatives and privileges of other citizens.

The pamphlet, "Miscegenation," is eloquence, poetry, and romance, compared to some of those expressions of men who have led and still lead the Republican party. The pamphlet lays down the precise platform upon which the Republicans must stand if they carry out their theories. It is to the party to-day what Helper's book was a few years ago. The Republicans, when we quoted from that book, stoutly denied that it represented their views. To-day it is behind the age, and "miscegenation" takes its place, flaunting its banners of "progress" — progress toward anarchy and towards a war of races, as well as a war of states. The subject is disagreeable to talk of; but abolition and civil war were disagreeable to talk of five years ago; yet, if the nation had been better warned of the dangers that lay in its path, a different spirit might have actuated the people, and compromise might have preserved to us peace and prosperity.

Some idea of this pamphlet may be obtained from its table of contents, which is as follows : —

1. Physiological Equality of the White and Colored Races; 2. Superiority of Mixed Races; 3. The Blending of Divers Bloods essential to American Progress; 4. The March of the Dark Races Northward; 5. The Mystery of the Pyramids — The Sphynx Question Answered; 6. All Religions derived from the Dark Races; 7. The Type Man a Miscegen; 8. Love of the Blonde for the Black; 9. Present and Future Relations of the Irish and the Negro; 10. The Mistake of all Religions and Systems of Education; 11. How the Anglo-American may become Strong and Comely; 12. The Miscegenetic Ideal of Beauty in Women; 13. Secret of Southern Success; 14. Heart Histories of the White Daughters of the South; 15. All our Victorious Battlefields baptized by the Blood of the Negro; 16. Progress of Public Opinion and National Policy towards Miscegenation; 17. The Bloods of all Nations find their Level: 18. The Future — No White, no Black; 19. Miscegenation in the Presidential Contest; 10. An Omen.

To those who desire to obtain the pamphlet for reference or argument, as showing the logical conclusions of Republican teachings, it may not be out of place to mention that it will be sent to any part of the country by addressing E. P. Patten, 35 Park Row, New York city, and enclosing the price : one copy, thirty cents; five copies, one dollar. We invite especial attention to chapters 9, 16, 18, and 19.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," introduces into a later novel, written by her, as the principal characters, a mulatto man and woman, to show the benefit of a mixture of bloods.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, who detracts from his fame by writing abolition articles, thinks the negro is better than the white man. He writes of the negro, —

He has avenues to God,
Hid from men of Northern brain,
Far beholding, without cloud,
What these with slowest steps attain.

That is to say the negro has the avenues straight to the throne of God, while the white man labors to attain it with slow and weary steps.

Henry Ward Beecher said, in reference to colonization, in one of his sermons: —

What! Drive out the colored people from among us? I would sooner that these two hands undertake to uproot and cast out every shrub, bush, and tree that grows between this and the Rocky Mountains.

The answer to the question "What will you do with the negroes when they are freed?" has always been, "They must be placed on an equality with the white, side by side with the white laboring population, with no prejudice of race working against them, and no right denied them."

In the *N. Y. World* of Sept. 23, will be seen the description of a scene at the Rooms of the Central Lincoln Club, in New York city, of which Charles S. Spencer is President. After a Lincoln mass meeting, addressed by the United States District Attorney, and other Lincoln orators, who dwelt largely on the wrongs of the black race, their superiority, and their natural and physical capacity for the highest enjoyment, the floor was cleared for a negro ball: —

In came the colored belles into the Twenty-third Street Republican headquarters, arrayed in all that gorgeous and highly colored, not to say highly scented, splendor for which the dark daughters of the Æthiop race are æsthetically distinguished. One might pick out all colors among the hundred and fifty belles who soon tripped in on the light fantastic toe over the floor of the Republican grand council chamber. Some of them sat on the platform, or picked their bouquets to bits on the rostrum, sacred but half an hour before to Lincoln eloquence and the theory of miscegenation; while others, seized by eager partners, whirled round in the dizzy waltz, displaying all that extravagant voluptuousness and wriggling of figure for which the dancing African female is so remarkable. Some of the bells were octoroons, to suit we suppose, the love-sick glances of Republicans as yet only in the vestibule of the great miscegenation church. Others were of the quadroon type; others yet mulattoes, of great vivacity and variety of tint; while not a few were of the pure Congo or Bozoo character, black as the ace of spades, and ready for any work from shaking a carpet to talking philosophy and humanitarianism with the most perfect possessor of the Lincoln creed.

On the floor during the progress of the ball were many of the accredited leaders of the Black Republican party, thus testifying their faith by their works, in the hall and headquarters of their political gathering. There were Republican office-holders, and prominent men of various degrees, and at least ONE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTOR ON THE REPUBLICAN TICKET.

The *Tribune*, of two or three months previous, gave a description of a meeting at New Orleans, of negroes, largely interspersed with white men and women from the North, and addressed by white Abolitionists, in which the writer devoted much of his space to the portrayal of the beauty of the mulatto ladies present. In a speech before a Loyal League Club in Brooklyn, reported in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 30, Hon. Seth B. Cole accounted for the good fighting qualities of the Southern people by the fact of their association with the negroes.

The New York *Tribune* of Feb. 24, 1864, in referring to a remark in Congress, of Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, that it was the interest of the country that black men should be employed in the war to save the blood of white men, responded, that "it is equally for the interest of the country that *white men should be employed, because it will save the blood of black men*," and on another occasion the *Tribune* said that Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana, need have no personal fears of the social and political equality of the blacks, for no statute could ever raise him to their level.

After all the teachings we have quoted, it is no wonder the negro began to consider himself a better man than the white man. The *Anglo-African*, the negro organ in New York, has a sharp attack upon Elizur Wright, because he presumes to say that the negro has not as much virility as the whites. It says, —

No, friend Wright, you need not disturb yourself about the black man of these United States; he has a good standing color, and an abundance of endurance; just brush some of those knotty cobwebs from your brain and look at him: *tall, brawny, and well-limbed, sound-brained as God made him, a man and a brother. You sharp-nosed, hatchet-faced, lank-haired people*, aided by science and the "hub," have vainly tried to crush the manhood out of him, and failed; do give him up; you cannot *lie* him out of his manhood. *He is a better man and a better citizen than you or your race "ever dare be," under any circumstances, in all climates;* if not, why do you cut down his equal chances? Why shut your eyes to facts? Bluff Ben. Butler, the other other day, started on a forced march of some two or three days. He had two white and two black regiments of infantry. He was in a climate, moreover, "favorable to the whites." How was it when they arrived *there?* One-half the white soldiers had straggled, exhausted, on the road — *every black soldier* answered to his name at roll-call. Pshaw! Don't "fool" any longer. If you want this rebellion wiped out *take three hundred thousand of our blacks; give us Ben. Butler or let us go alone, and in sixty days the South will be wiped out.*

Here is what Lieut. Col. Hoyt, a Western radical, wants the negroes to do: —

I hate the South to-day, not only as my enemy, not only as the enemy of my Government, but as the enemy of all mankind. I hate her piratical institutions, which rob men of their manhood and women of their virtue. I hate her history, and I hate her traditions, for upon all I behold the unwashed stains of that unavenged blood extorted by the lash of the slave-whip. *I have believed, I still fondly believe, that the sun of another Saint Domingo may rise upon her, and a million of Toussaint Louvertures, clad in the habiliments of war, and with vengeance written on their faces, with one desperate and triumphant stroke, dash in pieces the accursed South.* Are Kansans proud to own John Brown, of Ossawatomie? I, for one, say, in the whole history of this State there is nothing reflecting such lustre as the citizenship of the gray-haired martyr of Harper's Ferry.

Hon. Montgomery Blair, Mr. Lincoln's Postmaster General, in his speech at Rockville, Md., during the cabinet imbroglio, thus unequivocally charged his associates in the cabinet and in the party, with the attempt to bring about practical miscegenation: —

The Abolition party, while pronouncing philippics against slavery, seek to make a caste of another color by amalgamating the black element with the free-white labor of our land, and so to expand, far beyond the present confines of slavery, the evil which makes it obnoxious to Republican statesmen; and now, when the strength of the traitors who attempted to embody a power out of the interests of slavery, to overthrow the government is seen to fail, they would make the manumission of the slaves the means of infusing their blood into our whole system, by blending with it '*amalgamation, equality,* and fraternity.' The cultivators of the soil must then become a hybrid race, and our government a hybrid government, ending, as all such unnatural combinations have ever done, in degraded, if not abortive, generations, and making serfdom for the inferior caste, — the unmixed blood of the conquered race inevitably asserting a despotism over it. To facilitate this purpose, a concerted appeal is now made to the people of the free States through the press, to open the way to this daring innovation, beginning in the Southern States, unhappily now brought under the ban of the Calhounite conspirators. With this view, it is proposed to declare the State governments vacated in that section when they are restored to the Union, and all the loyal men of the South, whom the treason of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, in complicity with Southern traitors, has subjugated, are to come under absolute submission to the representatives of the Northern States in Congress without the vestige of a State right, a State law, or constitution to protect them; nay, not even the franchise of a vote to send a solitary representative to the legislative body to which their destiny is to be committed.

The New York *Times* (Rep.), of March 26, says of this miscegenation: —

It may readily be imagined that it is with great reluctance that we speak out our minds in this matter. But we have no hesitation in saying that if we had at the outset conceived it possible that hostility to slavery would ever have led to wholesale intermarriage with negroes, or of all marriageable Republicans and their sisters, that party should never have received any countenance or support from this journal. We owe it to ourselves and posterity to say that the odious matrimonial arrangements, into which so many of those whose opinions on certain great questions of public policy we have hitherto shared, have taken us wholly by surprise.

Mr. Lincoln is as much an aider and abettor of the Abolitionists in this new policy of miscegenation as he has been in their policy of emancipation. He will go wherever they push him. Hear Frederick Douglas's account of his visit to the White House: —

I have been down there, said he, to see the President, and, as you were not there, perhaps you may like to know how the President of the United States received a black man at the White House. I will tell you how he received me, — just as you have seen one gentleman receive another (great applause), with a hand and a voice well balanced between a kind cordiality and a respectful reserve. I tell you I felt big there. (Laughter.) Let me tell you how I got to him; because everybody can't get to him. He has to be a little guarded in admitting spectators. The manner of getting to him gave me an idea that the cause was rolling on. The stairway was crowded with applicants. Some of them looked eager; and I have no doubt some of them had a purpose in being there, and wanted to see the President for the good of the country! They were white, and as I was the only dark spot among them, I expected to have to wait at least half a day; I had heard of men waiting a week; but in two minutes after I sent in my card the messenger came out, and respectfully invited "Mr. Douglas" in. I could hear in the multitude outside, as they saw me pressing and elbowing my way through, the remark, "Yes, damn it, I knew they would let the nigger through," in a kind of despairing voice, — a peace Democrat, I suppose.

In an address to a bogus association calling itself the Working Men's Democratic Republican Association, from New York, Mr. Lincoln took especial pains to place working negroes and white men on an equality. Said he, in his turgid and awkward way, —

None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudices, working disunion and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of the disturbance in your city, last summer, was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy outside of the family relation should be the one uniting all working people, of all nations, tongues, and kindreds.

"Some working people by other working people," means negroes by white men, and the President suggests that the white man should love the negro better than any one

except a relative, and where such a love existed, of course he might possibly, in time, become a relative.

We have room for no more extracts, but these are sufficient.

The attempt to raise the colored race to a social equality with the white must result in a conflict of races and the annihilation of the negro. It is one of those wild and impracticable theories of the "agitators," never to be realized in this or any other generation, but that lead to strife and anarchy if permitted to obtain in governments or in communities. The negro is to be made a sacrifice to the bigotry and political hatreds and ambitions of the Abolition party. The work has already begun. The African is dying by thousands in the track of our armies. The cry for help for homeless and starving men, women, and children has reached us, and true philanthropy, while deploring the abortive and reckless fanaticism, calling itself philanthropy, which has caused this suffering, has sent material aid. Let it be remembered that it was prophesied years ago that if the Abolitionists obtained influence and power, a civil war would result; let the prophecy be recorded here, that, if the American people indorse the unnatural theories now advanced by these same men, they invite a war of the races, which, if begun, can only end by the extirpation of the negro from the continent. Miscegenation is but another pet object of the Lincoln party, of the same stamp with emancipation, confiscation, and subjugation. If the nation is willing to be led to slaughter in a vain and disastrous attempt to accomplish these objects, let it continue Lincoln in power; if it is willing only to go to the battle-field for the sake of restoring Union and peace, let it remove him.

WATCHWORDS FOR PATRIOTS.

Mottoes for the Campaign, selected from General McClellan's Writings.

The true issue for which we are fighting is the preservation of the Union and upholding the laws of the general government. — *Instructions to General Burnside, January* 7, 1862.

We are fighting solely for the integrity of the Union, to uphold the power of our national government, and to restore to the nation the blessings of peace and good order. — *Instructions to General Halleck, November* 11, 1861.

You will please constantly to bear in mind the precise issue for which we are fighting; that issue is the preservation of the Union and the restoration of the full authority of the general government over all portions of our territory. — *Instructions to General Buell, November* 7, 1861.

We shall most readily suppress this rebellion and restore the authority of the government by religiously respecting the constitutional rights of all. — *Instructions to General Buell, Nov.* 7, 1861.

Be careful so to treat the unarmed inhabitants as to contract, not widen, the breach existing between us and the rebels. — *Instructions to General Buell, November* 12, 1861.

I have always found that it is the tendency of subordinates to make vexatious arrests on mere suspicion. — *Instructions to General Buell, November* 12, 1861.

Say as little as possible about politics or the negro. — *Instructions to General Burnside, January* 7, 1862.

The unity of this nation, the preservation of our institutions, are so dear to me that I have willingly sacrificed my private happiness with the single object of doing my duty to my country. — *Letter to Secretary Cameron, October*, 1861.

Whatever the determination of the government may be, I will do the best I can with the Army of the Potomac, and will share its fate, whatever may be the task imposed upon me. — *Letter to Secretary Cameron, October*, 1861.

Neither confiscation of property, political executions of persons, territorial organization of States, nor forcible abolition of slavery should be contemplated for a moment. — *Letter to President Lincoln, July* 7, 1862.

In prosecuting this war, all private property and unarmed persons should be strictly protected, subject to the necessity of military operations. — *Letter to the President, July* 7, 1862.

Military arrests should not be tolerated, except in places where active hostilities exist; and oaths, not required by enactments constitutionally made, should be neither demanded nor received. — *Letter to the President, July* 7, 1862.

A declaration of radical views, especially upon slavery, will rapidly disintegrate our present armies. — *Letter to the President, July* 7, 1862.

In the arrangement and conduct of campaigns the direction should be left to professional soldiers. — *General McClellan's Repor*

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